THE NAVY OF THE REVOLUTION.

Those who enjoy investing the number thirteen with malevolent attributes will find apparent confirmation of their predilection in the story of the first fleet of the regular American Navy, which was created by the Congress of the thirteen Colonies by an act passed on December thirteen, and consisted of thirteen frigates.

The first effort of the Congress of the Colonies to provide a naval force was the consideration of the instructions given by the Rhode Island Assembly to its delegates in Congress, in favor of building and equipping an American fleet, which were presented by those delegates on October 3, 1775. But the first vessel of the revolutionary Colonies was the unarmed schooner "Quero", of Salem, Massachusetts, which, under Captain John Derby, sailed on April 29, 1775, carrying to England the first news of the battle of Lexington, and arriving there two weeks ahead of the dispatches of General Gates, who was the British Commander at Boston when that battle occurred.

The first armed vessel of the Revolution was the "Trinity" sloop, which was equipped with the three pounder guns and swivels taken from the British schooner "Margaretta", captured on June 12, 1775.

Although the Colonies prepared and employed many armed vessels, and numerous privateers were engaged in ~~contributed to~~ defence and aggression during the spring and summer of 1775, the first of which were the two sloops contributed by Rhode Island on June 15th of that year, it was not until December 13, 1775 that Congress provided for the creation of a regular fleet. On that sinister date, as if inspired by a spirit of defiant temerity, it authorized the construction of thirteen frigates at a cost of $66,666 2/3 each, as follows:-

Gift
Mrs. [illegible]
7, 21 · 22

Raleigh,	32 guns,	at Portsmouth, N.H.
Hancock,	32 guns,	at Salisbury, Mass.
Boston	24 guns,	at Newburyport, Mass.
Warren	32 guns,	at Providence, R. I.
Providence	28 guns,	at Providence, R.I.
Trumbull	28 guns,	at Chatham, Conn.
Montgomery	28 guns,	at Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Congress	24 guns,	at Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Randolph	32 guns,	at Philadelphia, Pa.
Washington	32 guns,	at Philadelphia, Pa.
Effingham	28 guns,	at Philadelphia, Pa.
Delaware	24 guns,	at Philadelphia, Pa.
Virginia	28 guns,	at Baltimore, Md.

These frigates were from one hundred and thirty two to one hundred and forty feet long; about thirty-five feet beam, and drew approximately fourteen feet at the bow and nearly sixteen feet at the stern.

They were armed with long twelve pounder guns, of which they usually carried thirty six, and a few swivel guns.

On November 5, 1775, Congress appointed Esek Hopkins, Commander in Chief of the fleet with a salary of $125 per calendar month.

Congress also purchased and equipped a number of privately owned vessels, such as the Andrew Doria, Cabot, Alfred and Columbus.

The first time the Continental colors were hoisted on a vessel was when Lieutenant John Paul Jones ran it upon the "Alfred". The symbolic feature of that flag was a rattlesnake erect, with the motto "Dont tread on me!" The first salute to the flag by a foreign power was given by the Dutch to

the colors of the "Andrew Doria", on October 17, 1776, at the Island of Saint Eustatius.

The personnel at the command of Congress with which to officer its navy was not such as to encourage a hope for the best results. The most resourceful and courageous sailors were as a rule engaged in the more exciting and profitable enterprise of profiteering, which is attested by the fact that they captured from three hundred to four hundred British merchantmen each year.

On October 10, 1776 Congress created twenty-four Captaincies. On that list John Paul Jones, notwithstanding the conspicuous merit of his naval achievements, was eighteenth. He expressed his dissatisfaction thereat to Robert Morris, in a letter in which he said "I cannot but lament that so little delicacy hath been observed in the appointment and promotion of officers in the Sea Service, many of whom are not only grossly illiterate but want even the capacity of commanding merchant vessels. I was lately on a court martial where a Captain of Marines made his mark, and where the President of the court martial could not read the oath he attempted to administer."

How fully the results justified the judgment of Jones will later appear in the record of the calamities which overtook the navy which the Colonial Congress thus created.

On November 20, 1776, Congress provided for an addition to the regular Navy by the construction of five ships; 5, 36 gun frigates and one 18 gun brig, Buttonwood the America, of 74 guns, and the 32 gun frigates Confederacy, Alliance, (Allen p. 362) and the sloops of war General Gates and Saratoga, were completed and ~~but~~ only the last named three rendered active service. The Confederacy was commanded by Captain Seth Hardin.

On June 14, 1777 John Paul Jones again had the well deserved honor of hoisting on the new eighteen-gun ship Ranger, which he commanded, the first stars and stripes ever raised on a man of war.

The Randolph was the first of the frigates to put to sea and sailed under Captain Nicholas Biddle about February 1, 1777. It was followed to sea, later in that year, by the frigates Raleigh, Hancock and Boston.

On July 7, 1777 the Hancock, then commanded by Captain Manley, encountered the British forty-four gun ship Rainbow, and was surrendered to that vessel after firing a few shots and receiving a little damage. Her name was changed by the British to "Iris". Captain Manley claimed that he thought the Rainbow was the sixty-four gun ship Raisonable. It was a disgraceful affair. (Allen 1. 213.) He might have escaped, but that he was such a poor navigator that he changed the trim of his ship while manoeuvering so that she was down at the bow and made poor head way.

The frigates Montgomery and Congress, which were in the Hudson River when the British occupied New York, were destroyed in October 1777 to prevent their falling into the possession of the enemy. (~~Allen 1, 287~~).

During October 1777 while the British were occupying Philadelphia, the frigate Delaware was engaged in assisting the defence of Fort Mifflin, but a falling tide left her aground and she fell into the possession of the enemy, who brought a vast park of field artillery to fire upon her from the shore ~~(Allen 1, 242)~~.

A number of vessels were built or purchased in France, about this time, for the Colonial Navy, among which was the frigate Deane of five hundred and fifty tons and thirty-four guns. ~~(Allen 1, 285.)~~

The Randolph met the common fate of the American frigates, when on March 12, 1778, under Captain Nicholas Biddle, she fought the British ship Yarmouth, carrying sixty-four guns, and after rendering the British vessel practically helpless and about to surrender, was herself unaccountably

blown up. Only four of her crew escaped and they were picked up five days after the battle, floating on a piece of the wreck. (~~Allen 1, 297~~)

The Virginia was soon added to the list of our naval failures. After many delays she sailed from Annapolis under Captain James Nicholson on March 30, 1778, but ran aground in Chesapeake Bay next morning, lost her rudder, and was captured by two British frigates. (~~Allen 1, 308~~)

This disaster was soon followed by the destruction of the frigates Washington and Effingham, which were burned in the Delaware River by the British who occupied Philadelphia. (~~Allen 1, 310~~)

Misfortune again displayed its relentless antagonism to the thirteen colonial frigates. The Raleigh, under command of the capable Captain John Barry, was pursued off the coast of Maine on September 27, 1778, by the British fifty-gun ship "Experiment", and the twenty-two gun ship "Unicorn", and being hopelessly overmatched tried to escape, but ran aground and was captured by the British. (~~Allen 1, 319~~)

The next of the thirteen to experience the malevolence of destiny was the frigate Warren which became involved in the unfortunate Penobscot River Expedition. It was blockaded up that stream and was destroyed to prevent its capture. (~~Allen II, 186~~).

The frigates Boston and Providence were the next to meet disaster and were captured at Charleston, South Carolina, when General Lincoln surrendered that city to the British on May 11, 1780. (~~Allen 1, 437~~).

While the regular navy met with such a humiliating experience, the naval prestige of the colonies was maintained and the British Merchant Marine terrorized and depleted by over 2000 privateers carrying about 18,000 guns and nearly 70,000 of the Colonies most daring and competent seamen. (Allen 1, 47)

At the end of 1780 the Trumbull was the only one left of the thirteen original frigates, and with the frigates Alliance, the Confederacy and Deane, ~~another~~ and the sloop of war Saratoga, constituted the entire regular Continental Navy afloat. The "Deane" was a 34 gun frigate, built at Nantes, France.

On April 15, 1781, the Confederacy, under Captain Harding, was overtaken by the British forty-four gun ship Roebuck, and the thirty-two gun ship Orpheus, and having no chance of escape or defence, surrendered. ~~(Allen II, 556)~~

The Trumbull was the last of the thirteen to succumb. She was partly wrecked in a storm on August 8, 1781, and while in that condition was assailed by two British frigates and captured. One of her captors was her former comrade the Hancock, whose name had been changed to "Iris". So fate not only got even with the Colonies for trifling with her mystic number, but rubbed it in by using one of the Colonies' own clubs to punish them with. ~~(Allen II, 557)~~

The America was launched on November 5, 1782 at Portsmouth, and given to France, but proved unseaworthy and was destroyed four years later.

So unfortunate had been the experience of Congress with its regular Navy that in the spring of 1783 the Colonial Navy consisted of only five regular vessels, of which the frigate Alliance was the only vessel worthy of the cause. So remarkable was this vessel intrinsically, and as a factor in contributing to the naval prestige of the struggling Colonies, that a fuller allusion to her creation and career is a dutiful patriotic pleasure. ~~(Allen II, 611)~~.

ALLIANCE.

The gem of the Revolutionary Navy.

The career of the United States frigate Alliance is a striking instance of the partiality of Fame. Where one American is familiar with her achievements, millions are neither aware that such a vessel was ever in the navy of the United States, nor that the United States had an organized navy during the war of the Revolution. Yet almost every American school boy is well informed in regard to the achievements of "Old Ironsides", as the frigate Constitution is familiarly called, whose adventures during the war of 1812 have been the theme of bounteous praise in song and story; but which was far inferior to the Alliance in sailing ability.

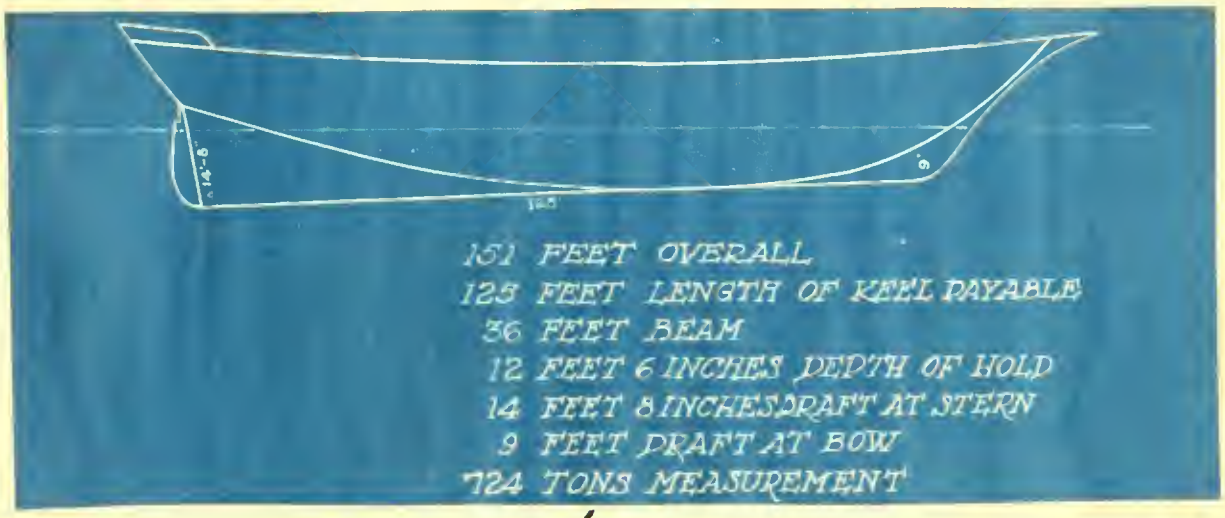
Notwithstanding her modesty, the Alliance was one of the most remarkable sailing ships of any time, of which we have record. She was built on the shore of the Merrimac River at Salisbury, Massachusetts, by John and William Hackett, who were engaged for two years in her construction, and was launched in the year 1778.

She was one hundred and fifty-one feet long, over all,- one hundred and twenty-five feet long on her keel payable; thirty-~~seven~~ six feet beam; the hold twelve feet ex; a draft of

nine feet at the bow and of fourteen feet eight inches at the stern, and a measurement of seven hundred and twenty-four tons. She had an exceptionally sharp bow for the date of her construction, and a long easy run. She was a very light draft vessel for her size. This feature of her mold was adopted to enable her to float over the bar at the mouth of the river upon which she was built.

Her mainmast was eighteen inches in diameter at the cap, and her mainyard was eighty-four feet long, which gave her the appearance of being oversparred; but she carried her canvass well in all sailing weathers, and often when other ships of established reputation for ability were wont to shorter sail.

Her construction was authorized by an Act of the Continental Congress,



which was approved November 20, 1776, and provided for the building of ~~nine~~ Eight other vessels of war, only 4 of which were completed, the America, 74; Alliance; Trumbull; Boston and Warr. (Allen p. 183) ~~none of which approached her in distinction.~~

She was named in honor of the treaty of alliance between the Kingdom of France and the United States which was concluded on February 6, 1778, and ratified by Congress during the following May.

Alliance was a phenominally fast sailer and easily handled. Much of her good fortune was due to her speed which enabled her to attain the most advantageous positions in a combat or to escape whenever her antagonists overmatched her in fighting strength. In sailing to New London after eluding the British sixty-four gun ship Chatham which chased her near the mouth of the Delaware Bay, she acquired and maintained during that distance a speed of fourteen knots, or more than

sixteen miles an hour. No ship that she met could rival her in sailing in any wind abaft the beam, notwithstanding she was chased by several of the largest and speediest vessels of the British Navy. Lieutenant Brown who was an officer on the twenty-gun ship "de Lauzun" which was in company with the Alliance when the latter defeated the British frigate Sybille, expressed enthusiastic admiration for the sailing ability displayed by the Alliance, which, he said, "nothing could surpass." If her tendency to make slight leeway when sailing on the wind, because of her exceptionally light draught for her size, had been minimized by a center-board or fin-keel equipment, she would have had no contemporary rival of any size, nor in any wind.

There are legends that some of the larger modern coasting schooners have approximated her speed, and authentic accounts of much swifter progress by some of the clipper ships of the period between 1850 and 1870; but that does not detract from the merit of the performance of the Alliance. It only demonstrates that size in ships as well as in other individuals which are of the same form and structure, is an approximate measure of efficiency. The clipper Flying Cloud has the reputation of having covered 17.78 miles an hour in a spurt. The Sovereign of the Seas claimed a record of 17.88 miles an hour. The larger vessel can keep a steadier helm than the smaller one in a seaway that would jolt or yaw the wind out of the sails of the smaller craft, and correspondingly retard its headway.

It would also be unfair to judge respecting the comparative speed of the Alliance and the transatlantic clipper ships, by the quickest trips across the Atlantic made by them, for the reason that the voyages of the Alliance to and from France were made during the stormy months, and were interrupted by the making of captures and other retarding circumstances.

The Flying Cloud was two hundred and twenty-five feet long and eighteen hundred tons capacity, or one third longer and with two and one half times her displacement. The Sovereign of the Seas was two hundred and sixty feet long with a measurement of

about twenty four hundred tons, or nearly twice as long as Alliance, with nearly three times her displacement. But it is probable that the accounts of the ~~their~~ speed of the Clipper are more or less apocryphal, as it is doubtful that they could have so far excelled the record in that respect of the more recent sailing yachts which were designed and groomed solely for racing purposes. One annalist ascribes to The Sovereign of the Seas an occasion when she made an hourly average record of over seventeen knots an hour for twenty four hours; and as he proceeds with the account, his enthusiasm increases until he expresses the opinion that in order to attain that average she must at times have been going at the rate of over twenty knots, or nearly twenty three miles, an hour! As this phenomenon is reputed to have occurred in the southern Pacific, it is to the credit of the narrator's self control that he stopped at that rate.

The shortest transatlantic voyage of the Dreadnaught, which was one of the fastest sailing ships, is instructive in this respect, and throws material doubt upon such extravagant claims. On that trip, Dreadnaught sailed 2760 miles in nine and three quarter days, or at an average hourly rate of a little over eleven and three quarters miles. A maximum of sixteen miles an hour, at those times when wind and other conditions were most favorable, would have enabled her to do that; but that is far from the twenty three mile claim for the Sovereign of the Seas.

The achievements of the Alliance in speed, in comparison with those vessels, is a remarkable tribute to the genius of her designers, who embodied in her model the most desirable elements of the naval art. A comparison of her maximum speed with that of the fastest sailing record of the modern sailing yacht, is the fairest criterion of her celerity. On October 13, 1893, the sloop yacht Vigilant, measuring one hundred and twenty eight feet over all, covered twenty miles from the outer mark to the stakeboat, before the wind, in a gale of about thirty-five miles an hour, at an average of fifteen and three quarters miles an hour, which is the record for that class of sailing craft, but is considerably slower than the maximum accredited to the Alliance. It should be considered also, in this connection, that the Vigilant

was constructed exclusively for speed; that her underbody was cleaned and polished for that race, and that she was in the lightest possible sailing trim; while the Alliance made her maximum speed record with her underbody foul from her long ocean cruising, and was weighted with her armament, ammunition and supplies.

The armament of the Alliance consisted of twenty-eight twelve pounders and eight nine pounders. Four of the latter were mounted on the forecastle and the other four at the stern. Her armament has been variously described by different annalists. One historian relates that in her action with the Atalanta and Trepassey she was armed with twenty-eight eighteen pounders and twelve nine pounders. This misapprehension apparently arose from the shipment upon her at L'Orient, a seaport on the western coast of France, in April 1780, for transportation elsewhere, of the guns of that caliber which had been cast for the Bon Homme Richard but had been received too late for emplacement on that ship. A number of other writers on naval history refer to the Alliance as a thirty-two gun frigate; but John Hassler who was the mate on her at the time, states in his diary that she was armed with twenty-eight twelves and eight nines, and that she had ports or emplacements for forty-four guns.

Her first commander was Captain Pierre de Landais, who was entrusted with that responsibility in June 1778 as a compliment to the French nation. He was a member of one of the most aristocratic families of Normandy, and had been educated for the Navy of France in which he had risen to the rank of Lieutenant. He had circumnavigated the earth with the distinguished French navigator, Bougainville. When one of the pages to the mistress of Count de Vergennes was appointed as a Captain over him, he became so incensed that he sought an appointment in the navy of the United States, which was then at war with Great Britain, and received the command of a French merchantman engaged to carry supplies for the government of the United States from France to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. During this voyage a mutiny occurred on this vessel, which, when considered in connection with later experiences of the same Captain, seems to indicate that his temperament was not conducive to that measure

of respect in his subordinates which discipline required. John Adams, who was afterward President of the United States, and who went in the frigate Boston to France, where he had occasion to observe de Landais, said of him, "This gentleman has been disappointed in love or in his ambition. He has not so much activity, dispatch, and decision as I could wish. He seems not to know how to gain or preserve the affection of his officers, nor yet to keep them in awe." Mr. Adams also said that de Landais was inordinately jealous and lacked tact, but that he thought him honest.

This, then, was the Commander of the Alliance on her first voyage, upon which she started from Boston on January 11th, 1779, carrying as a passenger the distinguished General Lafayette, who wished to return to France to offer his services to the government of that country, which was then at war, and incidentally to visit his family and to endeavor to influence the French Ministry to further aid the cause of the American colonies. The Alliance arrived at Brest, on the west coast of France, on the sixth of the succeeding February.

At that time it was impracticable to obtain crews of American sailors for the ships of the Navy, as the service on vessels operative under letters of marque of

the several states and of Congress, and on independent privateers, offered much greater opportunities for adventure, and of profit from the capture of British merchantmen, and consequently appealed more strongly to the imagination and acquisitive instinct of the enterprising native seamen.

Her crew on this trip was a heterogeneous assortment of mariners of various nationalities, including between seventy English and Irish sailors, who, besides their lack of interest in the cause of the Colonies, disliked to serve under a French commander, and were therefore not likely to patiently endure the vagaries of such a master as their capricious Captain. Furthermore, many of them were prisoners of war, who had accepted service in the American Navy in preference to prison restraints, and could hardly be expected to exhibit devotion to the American cause. Their disloyalty was further stimulated by an act of Parliament offering a liberal bounty to anyone who would bring an American vessel into a British port. The friends of Lafayette were very much concerned for his welfare on this trip when they saw the kind of crew with whom he was to sail.

The crew did not belie its appearance but gave a zest to the voyage by treating de Landais to the prospect of another mutiny, for which they had devised an elaborate program, to be carried out on the morning of February second. No mere commonplace insubordination and murder would meet the instigation of their picturesque ferocity. The Gunner, the Carpenter, and the Boatswain were only to be killed. The Captain was to be cast afloat in the cutter, in irons, without food or water. Lafayette was to be put in irons and delivered to the British authorities. The Lieutenants were to be given the option of navigating the ship to some port in England or of walking the plank; but the Marine officers and the Doctor were to be hanged quartered and hove overboard, and the poor Sailing master, whose rigid discipline had offended them, was to be "tied to the mizzenmast, scarified all over, cut to pieces and hove overboard."

The proposed entertainment was discovered prematurely through an American seaman whom the mutineers supposed to be an Irishman because of his brogue which he had

8½

The Chev PAUL-JONES

While this squadron was cruising off Flamborough Head on that coast, it came in sight, about noon on the twenty-third of September, of a fleet of forty British merchantmen under convoy of two British men of war. Upon sight of the Allied Fleet the merchantmen fled in all directions and escaped, although the Alliance, if she had been suitably commanded might readily have captured a number of them.

About seven o'clock in the evening Captain Jones ordered his fleet to engage the enemy. The Pallas closed with one of the British ships named the Countess of Scarborough, carrying twenty-two six pounders, and after a two hours and a half engagement compelled her to surrender. The Bon Homme Richard engaged the other British vessel, which was named the Serápis, and after a desperately contested fight forced her to strike, although the Richard sank soon after the Serápis surrendered.

When the order to engage was given the Alliance easily outsailed her companions at first, but when Captain de Landais discovered the strength of the enemy, he politely veered off and accorded to the other ships of the allied fleet the order of precedence into the fight. At about 9:30 o'clock in the evening, while the Serápis and Bon Homme Richard were lashed together and fighting desperately, the Alliance ran close to the port side of the latter and fired three braodsides which did much

greater damage to her than to the Serapis, and killed and wounded many of her crew. Many shot holes were found on the port side of the Bon Homme Richard which must have been made by the fire of the Alliance as that side of the Richard was never turned toward the Serapis. As it was a bright moonlit night when this incident occurred, de Landais had no excuse for his conduct, especially as the contending ships were conspicuously different in color, and the Richard not only displayed signals to warn him of his error, but hailed him orally in the most energetic manner. Landais was accused of boasting in a private conversation, that it would have been agreeable to him if the Richard had surrendered to the Serapis, as he then would have captured the latter and recaptured the Richard and taken them both into a French port. This charge derives considerable color from the fact that the Alliance also fired into the Pallas and killed one of her crew after the Pallas had captured the Countess of Scarborough.

The Fight between the Bonhomme Richard and the Serapis, from a painting by Richard Paton

During this action the Alliance was not struck by a shot from the Serapis, but was hit several times by shot from the Countess of Scarborough, one of which stuck in her side, and another struck her and bounded back into the sea. None of the crew of the Alliance was hit, but her shot killed one man on the Serapis.

After this battle the British fleet made great efforts to find the squadron of Jones, but the latter evaded the enemy and arrived safely at the Texel, a port in Holland. Landais was sent to Paris under charges, and the Alliance placed under the immediate command of Jones. While at the Texel, Jones was offered a commission in the French Navy, but refused the compliment. In view of the apprehension of some of the people of Holland that the presence of the American fleet at the Texel might lead to international complications, Jones left Texel on the 27th of December, and showed his confidence in the sailing ability of the Alliance by boldly running past and in sight of several British fleets of observation in the North Sea and the British Channel, and then cruised around Ireland, during which he captured a brig. Thence he sailed for Corunna on the north coast of Spain, where he arrived on January 16, 1780. The Alliance remained at Corunna until the 28th of January, when she sailed for Groix Roads in France, where she arrived on the 10th of February, and was then taken to L'Orient for a general overhauling which was very much needed. Jones tried to have her sheathed with copper, also, but Benjamin Franklin did not feel justified in incurring the expense.

The irresponsibility or incompetence of de Landais was strikingly illustrated by the trim in which John Paul Jones found the Alliance when he took charge of her at the Texel. In referring to her condition at that time, he said, "Captain Landais had extended the ballast <u>along the ceiling</u>, from the sternpost to the stem; an idea that I believe he may without vanity call his own." Which not only shows that Jones had a vein of humor as well as valor, in his makeup, but that the impracticability of de Landais was fundamental.

Captain de Landais tried to obtain authority to again command the Alliance, but Benjamin Franklin refused by writing to him, "I think you so imprudent, so litigious and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order, and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success, are, where you preside, impossible. If I had twenty ships at my disposition I should not give one of them to Captain Landais."

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Nevertheless, while Jones was temporarily absent in the performance of another duty to which he had been assigned, in June 1780, de Landais, acting upon the advice of the officious and neurotic Arthur Lee, who was then one of the diplomatic Commissioners from the United States to France, resumed charge of the Alliance, and on the 1st day of July of that year, sailed her for America with Mr. Lee as a passenger. It was not long before the relations of Lee and his Captain became inharmonious. Yet that may not have been altogether the fault of de Landais, as Jones who was a rather acute observer, wrote to Robert Morris in regard to the part of Lee in the reinstatement of de Landais, "I am convinced that Mr. Lee has acted in this manner merely because I would not become the enemy of the venerable, the wise and good Franklin, whose heart as well as head, does and will always do honor to human nature." But it remains to be stated that Lee, in defense of his course in this matter, claimed that as de Landais' commission was still in force, he was therefore legally entitled to the charge of the ship. It is to the credit of Jones that he nobly relieved the situation by relinquishing his claim to the command in order to preclude a quarrel.

This voyage had barely begun when trouble arose in a dispute as to which of the hogs on the ship should be used for food. The spirit of insubordination was further stimulated, at a later period of the voyage, by the refusal of Captain de Landais to permit the crew to fish while the frigate was off the Banks of Newfoundland. Ultimately the Captain secluded himself in his cabin and petulantly refused to have any communication with his officers or crew. As some control of the vessel had to be taken, the crew assumed charge of her on the 10th of August. She was sailed for the remainder of the trip without orders from the Captain, under the navigation of Lieutenant James Degge, and arrived in Boston on the 16th of that month. The ship remained in Boston during the remainder of 1780, during which de Landais and Degge were court-martialed and dismissed from the service.

After his dismissal, de Landais resided during the remainder of his life in the city of New York. His humiliation seems to have awakened in him a sense of propriety which was dormant during the days of his authority. He became a conspicuous and familiar figure on the streets, respected for his dignity, gentleness and courtesy. "Sweet are the uses of adversity", when discipline occurs in time for the afflicted to take profit by it; but sad enough are they when the chastisement comes too late, and leaves the chastened nothing but reflection burdened with repentance and regret. He died in that city in June 1818, and is buried in the churchyard of Saint Patrick's Cathedral there. Some kindly spirit has caused to be inscribed upon the marble slab which covers his remains, "To the memory of Peter Landais, sometime Rear Admiral in the service of the United States, who died June 1818, aged 87 years."

The President of the court-martial which tried de Landais and Degge was Captain John Barry who had acquired distinction in the naval service by his valor, skill and determination, and who was destined to increase his glory and establish respect for the infantile American Navy, as Captain of the Alliance to whose command he was assigned on September 5, 1780.

Now for the second time that matchless courser of the sea, whose deck had felt the directing tread of a John Paul Jones, worthily responded to the control of another commander who was more than equal to his responsibility. Barry was theoretically and practically a thorough sailor. Although hot tempered, and sometime violent in the enforcement of discipline, he was just and quick to endeavor to placate those whom his anger offended. Upon one occasion he knocked over his boatswain with a small speaking trumpet for persistent bungling in setting a sail in an emergency; but later sought to conciliate his victim by an argument on the aggravating nature of the latter's offence. He was always on familiar terms with his crews, and not only tolerated, but encouraged their jokes when not subversive of discipline, even when such pleasantries were indulged at his own expense.

13½

John Barry

was a Roman Catholic in religion, and remarkably broadminded in respect to religious observance on his ship. He made it a point of propriety to be present at all religious services on board, and required his officers and crew to do the same, notwithstanding the Chaplain was a hardshell Presbyterian clergyman.

Barry was born in Tacumshane, Wexford County, Ireland, in 1745, and died in Philadelphia, September 13, 1803. His first fight as an officer of the American Navy was on April 7, 1776, when in command of the fourteen gun boat Lexington he captured the Edward, which was a tender of the British frigate Liverpool. This was the first prize vessel ever captured by a boat of that Navy

Barry was somewhat of a military amphibian. While he was waiting for an assignment to sea duty, he took part in the land-operations of the Colonial Army, and rendered distinguished service at the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

He, about that time, with a detachment carried in small boats, captured a British schooner in the Delaware river near Philadelphia under circumstances conspicuously to his credit.

As commander of the 32-gun ship Raleigh, he made a gallant struggle against two British frigates off the coast of Maine, in a running fight, but was obliged to beach his ship, which in his temporary absence, and contrary to his orders, was surrendered by one of his subordinates whom he had left in charge. During the war with France, in 1799 to 1800, he commanded the frigate United States, and in that capacity captured several armed French vessels, and rendered other services in keeping with his previous reputation.

While in command of the Pennsylvania privateer twelve-gun brig Delaware, he was sailing up the Delaware River, in December 1779, and was hailed near the town of Chester, Pennsylvania, by the American frigate Confederacy, whose commander, Captain Barry had been informed, was impressing sailors into her crew from merchant vessels and from war vessels of the state of Pennsylvania, which were too weak to resist such imposition. The continental naval forces often assumed authority to impress seaman of the crews of the vessels sent out by the states. As the brig was

sluggishly beating up the river past the Confederacy, the latter fired a shot across her bows as a summons to stop, and her commander ordered Barry to come to anchor; but Barry ignored the hail and kept on his course. A party was then sent from the frigate to the brig with the obvious purpose of impressing such of her crew as they wished, but the resolute attitude of the brig's crew deterred them, and they left without attaining their end. Two more shots were then fired from the Confederacy at the brig, which so incensed Barry that he hailed the frigate and asked who commanded her. Her commander answered "Lieutenant Gregory". Barry replied, "Lieutenant Gregory, I advise you to desist. This is the brig Delaware, belonging to Philadelphia, and my name is John Barry." The frigate fired no more! Barry had ordered his crew to get the guns ready for action, and told them that if a rope yarn on his brig should be injured by the fire of the frigate he would give her a whole broadside. Fortunately for Lieutenant Gregory, and for the reputation of the Navy, Gregory had sailed with Barry and knew the resolute quality of the man with whom he was dealing.

He was equally as alert and decisive in the discharge of what he deemed his civil duties as he was in those that related to his military purview. When the Pennsylvania delegation to the Constitutional Convention, headed by Benjamin Franklin, sought to induce the Pennsylvania Assembly to act upon the adoption of the Constitution, and that Assembly lacked two members to make a quorum, through the absence of nineteen recalcitrant members, Barry persuaded a number of citizens to act with him in forcibly dragging two of the absentees into the Assembly while that body was in session, where they were counted as present, and thus unwillingly enabled their state to be the first to take steps toward giving to the United States an organic national status.

The first voyage of the Alliance under the command of Captain Barry, was begun on the eleventh of February, 1781, when she left Boston for France, carrying as passengers, Colonel John Laurens and suite on a diplomatic mission, accompanied by the gifted and philanthropic Thomas Paine, and others. The reputation of the

Alliance as the seat of frequent internal disturbance, seems to have made a deep impression on the mind of her new Captain, who, before he started on this voyage, required his passengers to agree that they would assist him to quell any mutiny that might occur on the ship while they were in it. It is probable, also, that a casual review of the members of his crew did not impress him with a feeling of absolute confidence in their reliability. That some such precaution was not unwarranted will further appear.

The diplomatic mission of Colonel Laurens, which had been conceived by the alert and fertile mind of Mr. Paine, at the period which Washington termed in a letter to Franklin the "infinitely critical posture in our affairs", resulted in securing from the French Government a loan of six million livres to the government of the United States. Two million and a half of the money so obtained was brought to America in coin, and the remainder in military stores. With these supplies and funds the Revolutionary army was paid and equipped for the campaign which resulted in the crowning victory at Yorktown on October 19 of that year. The government of France also guaranteed the payment of the loan of ten million livres which had been advanced by Holland. The negotiations which culminated in this result were essentially conducted by Mr. Paine, whose services were never adequately rewarded nor recognized. Paine, nobly sought to requite the help which the government of France thus rendered to the struggling Colonies, at his solicitation, when Louis XVI was on trial, by appealing for the life of the King at the certain hazard of his own, for which he was ultimately put in prison and marked for the guillotine, which he miraculously escaped. "Do not", he plead to the revolutionary convention of which he was a member, "give the English despot the pleasure of seeing you send to the scaffold the man who delivered your American brethren from his tyranny."

The passengers were diverted during this voyage by the capture of the British Privateer Alert, which carried twelve guns. Captain John Kessler, who was then a warrant officer on the Alliance, tells in his admirable memoirs, that Mr. Paine and

a French officer named Count de'Noailles, who was Lafayette's brother-in-law, fought a duel on the ship during the voyage, but does not give the details of the affair. It would be interesting to know what amount of provocation or what kind of disagreement could induce Paine to engage in a duel, in view of his pronounced aversion to the code and his proverbial humanity which induced him to write one of his most emphatic essays against the duelling practice. Otherwise the trip was without special incident, and the frigate dropped her anchor in the harbor of L'Orient on the 9th of the following March.

On the twenty-ninth of March, the Alliance started on her return voyage in company with a French letter-of-marque brig named Marquis de Lafayette. The next day the chronic trouble of the Alliance was the cause of much anxiety aboard, when it was discovered that a projected mutiny had only been forestalled through the voluntary exposure of the plot by an American Indian, who was a member of the forecastle crew and who informed the Captain of the names of three of the conspirators, who had tried to induce him to be one of them.

The officers and those members of the crew who could be trusted were armed and required to stay up all night. The next morning the remainder of the crew were ordered to the forecastle, the booms and gangway, while the officers and those of the crew who were in the Captain's confidence manned and guarded the quarterdeck, the maindeck and the steerage.

The three men who had been implicated by the Indian were triced up and flogged until they denounced twenty-five others, who were then also flogged until Captain Barry was satisfied that every mutineer had been discovered and that nothing remained to be disclosed about the plot.

The potential mutineers had planned to take possession of the ship by killing all the officers during the middle night watch, except the second Lieutenant, whom they intended to compel to navigate the vessel under the command of the quartermaster, to some port in Ireland, where they would sell her and divide the purchase

money among themselves. The plot had been arranged on the outward voyage from the United States during the preceding February, but the conspirators found no satisfactory opportunity to put it into effect. They were principally influenced to delay the mutiny by the falling overboard of one of the ringleaders in the project, which their traditional sailorman superstition construed into an unfavorable omen, and induced them to defer the attack, and to throw overboard the written agreement they had signed, as parties to the proposed mutiny. Three of the mutineers were put in irons, and the rest returned to duty upon their promise to conduct themselves properly during the remainder of their term of shipment. Three of the crew were tried and sentenced to various punishments. Patrick Sheridan was to receive 354 lashes; John Crawford, 50 lashes; and William McClehany, to be hanged from the starboard forearm of the Alliance until dead. None of these sentences was carried into effect. These men were put in prison in Rhode Island, awaiting punishment, but were apparently forgotten in the excitement of the times, until a Naval Agent re-discovered them in their confinement in a state of suffering from cold and starvation. The first-named two were shipped on the sloop of war Deane, and McClehany was sold to pay for the cost of his keep in jail. It is an interesting sidelight on Barry's treatment of and influence over his subordinates that, when this crew was about to be paid off and discharged, they unanimously pleaded to be allowed to ship with him again.

While in company with the Marquis de Lafayette, on the second of the succeeding April, the Alliance and that vessel captured the British brig named the Mars, of thirty-six guns, twenty of which were 12 pounders, two 6 pounders, and fourteen 4 pounder cohorns, and the Minerva of ten guns. The Mars ran close aboard the Alliance, and without warning of any sort fired a whole broadside into her at that range. Her officers and crew then immediately retreated below, which so incensed Captain Barry that he boarded her and put all the officers and crew indiscriminately in irons, for committing a murderous assault without intending to fight. The "de Lafayette" then took possession of the Minerva and parted company with the

Alliance. On the second and third days of May the Alliance captured two British merchantmen loaded with sugar from Jamaica, and on the seventh of that month lost her maintopmast by a stroke of lightning which also severely burned and otherwise injured several of her crew.

On the 28th of May (1781), the Alliance was engaged in the most severe and onstinate battle of her career, in which she captured the British ships Atalanta, carrying sixteen guns, and the Trepassey, carrying fourteen guns, both of which she fought at the same time. When the Atalanta came within hailing distance, Captain Barry summoned her to surrender, but her Captain, whose name was Edwards, responded, "I thank you! Perhaps we may after a trial." Captain Edwards after the fight said that he and the captain of the Trepassey were confident that they would capture the Alliance. All three vessels then began firing.

The calm which prevailed prevented manoeuvering of the Alliance, which lay on the ocean like a log during most of the battle. The Captains of the British vessels took advantage of the helpless condition of the Alliance by using sweeps to row their lighter craft into commanding positions athwart the stern and quarters of the Alliance and subjecting her to a severe fire, to which she could not effectively respond. At times during the battle the Alliance could not bring any of her guns to bear upon her antagonists except one which was mounted at the stern. The British ships were partly armed with carronades, a short large caliber cannon, which three projectiles at close range and low velocity, that had a smashing effect and did great damage to the Alliance at the short distance at which they were used in this conflict. Projectiles from these guns were especially destructive from the splintering which they caused on the opposing vessels. The extent of splintering on those old wooden ships was strikingly illustrated in the fight between the Constitution and Guerrierre in 1812, when the first broadside of the former at forty yards, caused a cloud of splinters to fly up from the waist and deck of the latter, part of which was driven as high as the mizzentop, with disastrous effect on the latter's crew.

In this action Captain Barry was wounded by a grapeshot which lodged in his shoulder, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was carried below for surgical attention, as he was suffering severely from pain. He was weak from the loss of blood, consequent upon the operation necessary to remove the ball from his shoulder. The colors of the Alliance were shot away, and the crews of the opposing vessels began cheering under the impression that the Alliance had struck, but were soon disabused of that delusion by the replacement of the flag. At a critical moment of the fight, when the Alliance was unmanageable for want of wind, and being severely damaged by the fire of her antagonists, one of her officers went down to the cockpit and informed Captain Barry of the state of affairs, and inquired whether he should strike his flag. Barry indignantly responded, "No! If the ship cannot be fought without me, I will be carried on deck." It was at this juncture, about three o'clock in the afternoon, that the wind freshened and enabled the facile Alliance to bring her broadsides to bear, and soon force both of her opponents to strike, but Barry was on his way to the deck when the battle ended.

The Atalanta was dismasted by the fire of the Alliance, and lost six killed and eighteen wounded; the Trepassey lost six killed, included her Captain, and eleven wounded. The Alliance lost eleven killed, and twenty-four wounded. When Captain Edwards went aboard the Alliance he entered the cabin of Captain Barry, who was confined to any easy chair by weakness due to his wound, and presented his sword to Barry, who immediately gave it back with the generous remark, "I return it to you, Sir. You have merited it, and your King ought to give you a better ship. Here is my cabin, at your service. Use it as your own." In this fight the Alliance was not only handicapped by lack of wind, but by a shortage of men. Her crew had been seriously depleted in numbers by the manning of many prizes which she had taken on that cruise.

Immediately after this action the Alliance made all sail for Boston, to obtain treatment for Barry's wound and for repairs to the ship which was badly shattered as well as short of crew, and reached that city on June 6th, 1781, notwithstanding

the presence of a British fleet in Massachusetts Bay. On Barry's recommendation the Alliance was treated to a sheathing of copper below her water line, which was a much needed improvement. Barry left her for Philadelphia, where he was obliged to go for the treatment of his wound, which was seriously infected.

A new fighting and foraging cruise for the Alliance was projected by the naval authorities, but the greater importance of conveying Lafayette on a mission to France with the object of obtaining an enlargement of the French naval force in American waters, prevailed, and she accordingly sailed from Boston on December 23, 1781, carrying Lafayette, Count de Noailles and others, as passengers, for whose comfort and security Captain Barry was especially enjoined by Robert Morris, to "make a safe and quiet passage to some port in France", and avoid a conflict with the vessels of the enemy. These instructions were very distasteful to Captain Barry and his crew, who would rather have gone in quest of adventure and prizes, notwithstanding he was authorized to cruise wherever he could promise himself the best chance of success in making prizes, after he should have delivered his distinguished passengers at their destination.

In disregard of these instructions, Barry's instinct to harry the enemy would not let him resist an impulse to capture a large British merchantman which he met on the way. They safely reached L'Orient on the 18th of the following January.

While waiting for dispatches for Congress, Barry sailed from L'Orient on the tenth of February, 1782, in search of prizes, but returned to that port on the 27th of that month without having made a capture. On the 16th of the following March the Alliance left that port for the United States. During this voyage, and while off the Delaware Capes, on the tenth of May she was chased by the Chatham, a sixty-four-gun British ship, which she eluded and arrived at New London on the 13th of that month, where she remained until the 4th of the following August. When this chase began the wind was blowing fresh from the north, which gave the Chatham the advantage, as both were sailing on the wind, and the Chatham's greater draught enabled her to sail closer to the wind than could the light draught Alliance.

The latter was therefore obliged to seek the shallower water along the shore of New Jersey in order to keep out of range of the Chatham's guns. The Chatham was accompanied by a tender, which during the chase sailed between that ship and the Alliance, to keep the commander of the former vessel advised as to the soundings so that he might avoid running his ship aground in following the Alliance. Finding that he could not safely get close enough to the Alliance to engage her he abandoned the pursuit. The wind soon after shifted to fresh southerly, and the Alliance continued to New London with a quartering gale, without dread of any pursuer. On the way she ran down the British sloop of war Speedwell, which tried to intercept her.

The Alliance sailed from New London on the fourth of August, 1782, bound for the Bermudas. On the ninth of that month she captured two schooners from Bermuda, bound for Halifax, loaded with sugar and molasses, and later took a number of other vessels with merchandise. On the nineteenth she arrived off the harbor of St. Georges, in the Bermudas, and Captain Barry sent word to the Governor that, unless the American prisoners of war confined there were sent on board of the Alliance, he would blockade the port for three weeks. But he was enticed away by the prospect of making prizes, and left the Bermudas on the twenty-fifth of that month for a cruise in the vicinity, in which he was engaged for the next five days, and then sailed for the Newfoundland Banks, where the Alliance arrived on September tenth. On the 18th she captured and sunk a British brig, and during the next few days captured several other vessels. Meeting with some storm damage, she sailed on the 28th for L'Orient for repairs, and arrived there on the 17th of October with four of her prizes, which sold for six hundred and twenty thousand, six hundred and ten pounds sterling, which was enough to pay for all the ships that the navy of the United States lost during the Revolutionary War, and for her own construction many times over. Here again the penchant of the Alliance for the development of mutinous demonstrations was manifested, and several of her officers refused to obey

orders unless they were paid. The offenders were put under arrest and less experienced members of the crew were promoted to the vacancies so made.

Midshipman Kessler relates that when the Alliance arrived at L'Orient and the prisoners captured during the cruise were sent ashore, the parting between them and the officers and crew of the Alliance was like the separation of old friends. The prisoners left with great reluctance. They had been treated with much consideration and care by their captors, and were not only grateful for the hospitality they received, but were abashed to reflect upon the difference between their treatment and that which was then usually accorded by their nation to American prisoners of war.

The lure of the sea again enticed Captain Barry to seek the raging main for adventure and service. He took the Alliance out of the harbor of L'Orient on December 9, 1782, bound for Martinique, where she arrived on the 8th of the following January. Barry there found orders to go to Havana. On the way to Havana, the Alliance showed her fast fading heels to a British fleet, and later to a British seventy-four, which was accompanied by a frigate.

The Alliance left Havana on March 7, 1783, with a large amount of specie aboard, which was to be used to found the Bank of North America. She was accompanied by a twenty-gun ship named the Duc de Lauzun, after a distinguished General of the French army, which had been purchased for the American navy, and was commanded by Captain Green, and also carried a large amount of specie, on the same account. On March 10th, they were chased by the British frigates Alarm and Sybille, and the sloop of war Tobago. The Alliance under shortened sail to keep her between the sluggish de Lauzun and the Sybille, was closely followed by the Sybille, commanded by Captain James Vashon, and received a shot from the latter which lodged in the Captain's cabin. The Lauzun was such a poor sailer that, at Barry's suggestion, her Captain lightened the ship by throwing overboard nearly all of her guns and putting the specie she carried, and Mr. John Brown, the Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, aboard the Alliance for safety. She ran off before the wind, but so slowly that Barry felt obliged to interpose the Alliance between her and the Sybille to aid her to escape. A fifty-gun French ship soon appeared and layto,

in the vicinity, while the Alarm and Tobago also kept at a distance; as if all three were willing to leave to the Alliance and Sybille all the hazard and glory the prospective conflict would involve. The Alliance and Sybille had a severe action for about forty-five minutes, when the latter sheered off, very much injured in her hull, sails and rigging, her guns silenced, and only her musketry fire continuing, with a loss of thirty-eight killed, and fifty wounded. The Alliance had three killed, and eleven wounded. As illustrative of the solicitude and diligence of Barry in the performance of duty, one of his officers relates that during this action he "went from gun to gun on the maindeck cautioning against too much haste, and against firing until the enemy was right abreast." When the Sybille withdrew, her consorts joined her in her retreat. The French frigate then approached the Alliance, but too late to afford the cooperation which a short time sooner would have enabled Barry to capture all three of the British ships, which they then chased but could not overtake because of the inability of the French vessel and the Lauzun to keep up with the Alliance.

This was the last naval engagement between British and American ships during the war of the Revolution. When this action occurred the British frigate Triumph was bearing to America the preliminary treaty of peace which had been signed at Paris on November 30, 1782, to be followed by the definitive treaty of Versailles, of September 3, 1783, by which Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States. The advantages of modern facilities for transmitting information at long distances over difficult physical obstacles, would in that case, as well as in the case of the battle of New Orleans, both of which transpired after peace had been diplomatically established, have saved the hundreds of lives which were lost in those conflicts because of the delay in conveying the notification of the cessation of hostilities. News must have travelled slowly then, not to have reached Barry while he was at L'Orient, as he did not sail from that port for nine days after the treaty of Paris was signed.

The captain of the French seventy-four gave as his reason for not going to the assistance of the Alliance while she was engaged with the Sybille, that he supposed that the Alliance had been captured by the British vessels, and that the signals from her for him to close in with his ship were a decoy to get him in the power of the British fleet. He also said that he had $1,000,000 in specie on his ship which he hesitated to subject to the risk of battle.

The Alliance and her companions separated off Cape Hatteras, and the Alliance sailed for Newport where she arrived on the 20th of March. She thence went to Providence, Rhode Island, where her crew was discharged and her naval career practically terminated.

After the Alliance arrived at Providence, Captain Barry went to Philadelphia by way of New York. While at the latter city he visited the Sybille which was lying there, and was cordially entertained by her commander. She still bore the marks of the damage which she had received in her battle with the Alliance, and her officers told him that she had never been so roughly treated before that action.

During the Summer of 1781, Captain Barry was directed by the Agent of Marine to take the Alliance and the frigate Deane on a cruise and use his judgment as to the locality, duration and nature of his venture. The preparation of the Deane for that service was so long delayed that on October 17 the Marine Agent instructed Barry to make the cruise with the Alliance alone; but the surrender of the British army at Yorktown, about that time, resulted in the abandonment of the project and the retention of the ships in port.

After the war there was a strong sentiment in Congress in favor of keeping the Alliance in the Navy. One of the committees of that body reported on January 15, 1784, that "the honor of the flag and the protection of the coast required her continuance in the service." But Congress, which was then in such pressing need of money that it was unable to pay the arrears due the soldiers of the revolutionary army, decided, after long debate, to subordinate both sentiment and common sense to cash, and directed that she be sold. If she had been retained, the United

States might then, under such a Commander as Barry, have made short work of the interference of the Barbary pirates with American commerce in the Meditterranean. Nevertheless she was put up at auction at Philadelphia, on June 3rd, 1785, and bought by Benjamin Eyre, a ship carpenter, for two thousand eight hundred and eighty seven pounds sterling. Eyre sold her to Robert Morris, who converted her into a merchantman and sent her to Norfolk, Virginia, whence she sailed to Bordeaux with a cargo of tobacco. In 1787 she returned to Philadelphia and in June of that year sailed for Canton, China, under Captain Thomas Reed, and returned on September 17, 1788, after having circumnavigated the Earth, and discovered several islands en route. Her last voyage was to Cadiz, Spain, with a cargo of flour, during 1789, from which she returned to Philadelphia the same year.

She was in Philadelphia on April 20, 1789, when General George Washington passed through that city on his way to New York City to be inaugurated as President of the United States, and was profusely decorated in honor of that occasion.

She was sold for old material in the spring of 1790, and beached upon Petty's Island, in the Delaware River near Philadelphia, where she was broken up and her timbers allowed to rot in the mud; a monument of the indifference of republics to the fate of their benefactors. The relics were visible at low tide as recently as 1901, when they were removed in the execution of some dredging operations for the improvement of the river. Such was the inglorious ending of the career of the most efficient ship of the first navy of the United States, which, owing to its speed and mobility, and the skill with which it was generally commanded, but especially its speed, was the only frigate of that navy which escaped destruction or capture.

While the surrender at Yorktown was the pretext for the abandonment of the British claim to authority over the United Colonies, the dominant circumstance which constrained the British government to concede the independence of the Colonies was the inroad of our privateers and Navy upon British Commerce, and the inability of the British navy to protect the merchantmen of Great Britain from such depredations. It was the vulnerability of England to such isolation that entered most effectually into the consideration which led to colonial